# Clynes, Tillett and the General Strike.


# Workers' Dreadnought

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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## TO HOMER AND VIRGIL.

Breathless I call across Time's windy darkness,
Stardust bedight,
To you, who tower in triumphal starkness,
Out of the night.

To you, who sang of warriors and sages,
Of human strife and woe,
And all the deathless glamour of the ages
So long ago.

Your Gods are truly Gods. Your heroes tower
Like mountains sheer
Beyond all petty urgings of the power
Of hope or fear.

You sang of love and kote as garlands guerdoned
To deck man's soul
That fade and wither, leaving all unburdened
The mighty whole.

You did not dream of God, and man, and spirit
As things apart,
But rightly knew them children that inherit
A common part.

Nor unto you were men as ewe lambs bleating
In crowded mart,
Who saw through all men's lives the ordered beating
Of one great heart.

Much is there still of dross unpurged,
Of chance spilt blood,
That hides for aye beneath its crimson turgid
Some thought in bud.

Yet like a thread of gold in mantle sable
Runs the stark truth,
How man, stripped clean of prejudice and fable,
Of fear and ruth.

May yet through anguished ages win to glory,
Whate'er the odds,
And write at last the finis to your story
Above the gods.

H. SMITH.

## THE WAR IN BELFAST.

### DAIL EIREAN FACTS.

On August 11th Jas. Rocherty was shot in the thigh by men firing from a tramcar, and a child, Bridget Magennis, was shot whilst playing in the street.

On August 12th Patrick McGuigan and Patrick McFine, both Catholic labourers, died of gunshot wounds received from Orange gunmen. McFine was shot whilst at work in Belfast Harbour.

On August 13th Joe Bradley, a Catholic, was admitted to the Mater Hospital shot in the jaw and in the leg. Forty young Catholic men were arrested at a hall in Falls Road district, and detained uncharged at the Central Police Station.

### DERRY.

Orangemen celebrated the anniversary of the Relief of Derry by an outburst of shooting between 10 and 11 p.m., which continued till 2 p.m. These are curfew hours. The authorities did not interfere, and there were no arrests.

### IRISH LABOUR PARTY CLASSED AS PRO-TREATY.

The Proportional Representation Society has published an analysis of the voting in the Irish Parliamentary election. It classes both the Labour Party and the Farmers' Party as Pro-Treaty. These parties have hitherto offered no correction of the statement.

### RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

*India in Transition*, by Manabendra Nath Roy, with collaboration of Abani Mukherji. J. B. Target Library, Geneva, 1922, contains interesting information, especially on Ghandi and his movement. The authors are Communists.

## The South African Treason Court.

**The South African Strikers' Defence Committee appeals to the workers of the British Empire TO HELP THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINERS WHO ARE BEING CONDEMNED TO DEATH BY A SPECIAL TREASON COURT UNDER ANCIENT ROMAN-DUTCH LAW.**

**The Rand Miners' Defence Committee urges you to pass the following resolution:**

**"We vehemently protest against the brutality of the South African Government in connection with the recent strikes in the coal and gold mine areas, and demand that the imprisonment and death sentences on strikers shall not be carried out."**

**The Defence Committee urges you to send the resolution to the Prime Minister of South Africa, the High Commissioner in London, and the General Council of Trade Unions, 32 Eccleston Square, London, S.W. 1.**

**An injury to one is an injury to all. If Labour actually realised this truth, an international general strike would prevent these executions.**

### HOW THE RAND STRIKERS ARE TRIED.

By ISAAC VERMONT.

In the Special Treason Court three judges in scarlet robes are on the bench. The tables are covered with mouldy old Roman-Dutch law-books, some of them actually dropping to pieces in their decay. All the doors are guarded by police and C.I.D. men.

The Roman-Dutch law which is in force in the Union of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and Ceylon, was introduced into the Cape of Good Hope Settlement by Dutch settlers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is compounded of Dutch ordinances and customs imposed upon Roman Law.

Some 300 comrades will be tried by such law in the Special Treason Court. They are without means to pay for efficient legal defence.

Rasmus Peter Erasmus, a prominent strike leader, was the first to be tried. He was sentenced to ten years' hard labour for high treason.

Amongst those who gave evidence for the defence was Mr. R. V. Hall, who called himself an Imperialist. He said that at least one-third of the men in the Commandos were ex-Service men, and that he personally knew twenty-five to thirty officers of the Imperial Army who were in the ranks of the Commandos.

Mr. Joe Thomson, acting president of the South African Industrial Federation, testified that the letter of General Smuts, promising protection for men who went to work during the strike, had intensified the opinion that the Government had taken sides with the employers against the workers.

Mr. Ross, counsel for Erasmus, questioned Mr. Thomson regarding the formation of the Commandos. He replied that they were originally formed to keep the men together, having a daily roll-call kept by the various local committees. Until the Boksburg shooting they had been on good terms with the police.

Questioned by the Attorney-General, Mr. Thomson replied that the augmented strike executive did not take up a high-handed attitude in regard to granting permission for men to work at essential services.

### *Russian Gold?*

Major A. E. Frigger, head of the Criminal Investigation Department, was asked by counsel for the defence whether there was any possibility that money had come from Soviet Russia for use in the strike.

Major Frigger answered: "No; I could not discover that any money came through."

Questioned by Mr. Ross as to the cause of the strike, Major Frigger answered:

"The strike was for a White South Africa."

The President of the Court (Sir J. Dove Wilson) cross-examined Erasmus, as follows:

President: "Was it your opinion that the Government had declared war against you?"

Erasmus: "Yes; I came to that opinion because the Government's people were shooting us."

President: "Were you prepared, then, to fight against the Government?"

Erasmus: "We could not fight the Government; we had not the power to fight the Government."

President: "But you were fighting the police?"

Erasmus: "Yes, because they were shooting us."

President: "And you considered that there was a declaration of war by the Government?"

Erasmus: "At that moment I could come to no other conclusion."

President: "Did you seriously imagine that the Government forces deliberately shot down innocent men?"

Erasmus: "Yes; I have seen it in the past."

President: "Did you really believe that the Government, in the interest of the Chamber of Mines, would instruct their police to fire upon innocent people? Do you really believe that?"

Erasmus: "I could come to no other conclusion."

President: "Can you imagine the Government of any civilised country directing its police in an industrial centre deliberately to fire upon and shoot down innocent men?"

Erasmus: "That is what I believe, and from my experience I could come to no other conclusion."

### *The Verdict.*

President: "Erasmus, you have been found guilty of the crime of high treason. Unfortunately, in this country, there appears to be some tendency to under-rate the seriousness of this crime; but there is no more serious crime known to law. Until recently, the punishment for the crime of treason was death. Latterly, however, a more merciful view of such crimes has been taken, and it has been made competent for the Court to award another sentence; but it does not follow that the Court can treat this as a trivial crime, and the seriousness of it becomes evident when one remembers the great numbers of people who have lost their lives owing to the action taken by you and others

(*Continued on p. 2.*)

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ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

## LAMENTABLE FOLLY.

The leading article in the Right-Wing Communist organ, *The Communist*, August 12th, 1922, says:

"*The Communist E.C. saw that the middle-class leaders of the leaders of the Labour Party were with characteristic cunning seeking to drive it into a policy of direct and unqualified antagonism—a policy of pure and simple Communism versus Labourism.*"

How extraordinary that any Communist Party should have to be "driven into a policy of pure and simple Communism *versus* Labourism."

Surely, fellow-Communists, the policy of "pure and simple Communism is the policy every Communist Party should steadfastly maintain!. Surely every Communist Party should strive to bring out clearly and unmistakably the difference between "pure and simple Communism and Labourism." It is to the Labour Party's advantage to keep the issue blurred and indistinct, in order that the masses may not realise the failings of Labourism and its ineffectuality as a means of securing their emancipation. Communism has everything to gain and nothing to lose by a clear-cut presentation of the issue.

"*Seeing this, it saw also that, had that course been adopted, the way would have been clear for the Webbs, Macdonalds, and Hendersons to take up once again their old slogans of Unity, Solidarity, Toleration, and their old denunciations of the dogmatic sectarianism of the Communists whom they had driven into opposition.*

"*The bulk of the workers would by then have been led to imagine that it was the Communist Party which, in the spirit of dogma, had gone out to smash the workers' solidarity, which they (the wise and benevolent middle-class manipulators) had sought generously to build up.*

"*They would have called the Communist Party 'political blacklegs,' and it would have died—to their intense joy—stabbed by a phrase.*"

Only those who have no faith in Communism; only persons afflicted with moral cowardice, could make such a statement. Do the members of the C.P.G.B. approve such a statement as this, which is made officially in their name?

"*The Communist Party is not to be disposed of so easily.*

"*It has set itself the task of winning first the ear, then the confidence, and finally, the backing of the working mass; not to serve ends of its own, but because it is itself part of that working class whose emancipation it lends every effort to secure.*"

Consider these statements: what do they mean? It is stated here that the Right-Wing Communist Party is seeking the backing of the working class, but "not to serve ends of its own." What are its "ends"? Has it any other end than the achievement of Communism? If that is its aim, it is fit and proper that it should strive to get the backing of the working class to serve that end. If it has any "ends" for which it would be improper to secure the backing of the working class, what are those "ends"?

It is stated here that the Right-Wing Communist Party has set itself the task of winning the ear, the confidence, and the backing of the working class: again we ask, what for? Evidently not for Communism, since the Party says it refuses to be driven into a position of pure and simple Communism. Is the intention to secure the ear, the confidence, and the backing of the workers, not for Communist principles, but for the office-bearers and spokesmen of the Party; for a group of personalities? Is it possible that these people who control the Right-Wing C.P. are committing the egregious folly of imagining that they can win Communism by gaining a personal following for their faulty fugitive selves, here to-day and gone to-morrow and veering like weathercocks with every breeze?

O Moscow, Moscow, are these thy mouthpieces? The article continues:

"*First it resolved to re-affirm its right to affiliation to the Labour Party.*

"*Secondly, and in consequence, it resolved that all its members who are delegates from their trades unions to the local Labour Parties should maintain their positions at all costs.*

"*And, thirdly, it resolved to remove the only obstacle arising by reason of the cunning constitutional amendments adopted at Edinburgh, and accordingly withdrew such of its candidates as were in the field against Labour Party nominees.*

"*Let nobody mistake those decisions. Here is no question of compromise, concession, or surrender. The middle-class leaders of the leaders of the Labour Party sought to effect a permanent division between the Communist Party and the rank-and-file mass of the trade unions.*

"*To do that they (taking advantage of the political innocence of these masses) created a cunning technical obstruction.*"

Poor ignorant ones, blind leaders of the blind sheep whose Moscow shepherds now disregard ye, bending their efforts to gaining the favour of the wolves who prey upon ye; poor blind sheep; in thinking to evade the trap ye have fallen into it. Ye have withdrawn from the Labour Party the Communist opposition which it feared; ye have put out the searchlight which should have revealed the essential divergence between "pure and simple Communism and Labourism."

Nevertheless, take heart, O lovers of pure and simple Communism; be not despondent; there are other searchlights and more efficacious. The number of searchlights may be multiplied and strengthened. You, even you, comrade, may be a searchlight amid the apathy and the gloom.

To you who agree with these words; who believe that the true course is the course which the *Dreadnought* follows, we say: Join us in the work. Cast off your moral cowardice and sloth and your ambition to win easy plaudits. Wander no longer after the will-o'-the-wisp of a big party. *Make* the genuine Communist movement; help to *make* it big; but, above all, *make it sound*. There is no short cut: the work and the struggle cannot be avoided by running feebly after a movement which others have built up for another aim. Utter not the feeble question: "Do you believe the masses can ever be got to understand Communism?" Search rather within yourself to know whether you have the courage to do your share of the educational work. Remember that education is achieved not alone by the easy-spoken word; example is more valuable than precept.

Remember that only if your will and purpose be strong and true as well-tempered steel, can you achieve great aims.

Are you sleeping? Has your faith died within ye, O men and women of England who call yourselves Communists and Socialists?

Communists, you controlled the unemployed movement; does it understand pure and simple Communism? Have you not rather made its slogan and its ideal work or maintenance—a fugitive unscientific cry?

Socialists of an older school, you built the Labour Party—have you made it a Socialist Party? Have you not rather lost your early idealism in a jumble of fugitive reforms, either of little worth, or impossible of accomplishment within the framework of capitalism?

Look back on the long toil of these years since the Socialist movement was inaugurated, and ask yourselves:

If we had worked only for pure and simple Socialism; if we had never strayed from the straight and narrow way might we not now have reached our goal?

Faithless indeed have been thy servants, O Socialism, O Communism; one and the same art thou, though the weaklings who could not face the full light of thy coming day have sought to divide ye.

In the light of dawn, when morning's golden rays flood the sky, all living creatures, save one, rise in joy to greet the light, eager to live the new-born day through to its latest hour.

Only mankind strives to postpone the waking; only mankind rises reluctant to take up again the life of day; only mankind is tired and stumbles to work without joy in the light or zest in living and doing; only mankind creates for his fellows, want, when Nature provides abundance.

This has our civilisation done for us: only Communism can relieve us from the excessive burden which our civilisation lays on the mass of human kind.

O cunning reformist politicians, and ye apostles of the United Front, who seek always to draw a veil over the light of Communism, lest the purity of its rays should dazzle and terrify those whom ye would make your followers; know ye that this diplomacy on which ye pride yourselves springs in actual truth from the weaknesses and cupidities which capitalist environment and tradition have planted within ye. This diplomacy is a cancer of which ye should strive to rid yourselves, not a merit to be prized.

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DEAR EDITOR,—I should be glad if you could find space in your columns for the accompanying manifesto.

Yours for Communism, A. HODSON.

### THE COMMUNIST LIFE.

#### OBJECT.

To promote the practice of Communism in daily life, beginning with the means at present available, striving to create others, and extending the practice as rapidly as conditions permit, until complete Communism can be realised.

To collect and spread information from all countries regarding the practice of Communism, and to act as a centre of advice and a means of communication between individuals and groups practising Communism, both for mutual service and the interchange of ideas.

The organisation seeks to promote mutual service, free from the taint of money or barter. It desires to encourage the formation of Communist groups in both town and country.

It welcomes both Communist colonies, and groups of comrades who, even though they may not have the advantages of living near together, and even though they may not yet be able to emancipate themselves from capitalist employment, will yet practise mutual service amongst each other, giving at least a part of their time to the service of the group.

The organisation recognises that a Communist colony at this stage may probably be unable fully to maintain itself without trading on capitalist lines with the outer world, but the members of the colony should not descend to buying and selling amongst each other—for if they do so this is not a Communist colony.

Similarly, whilst the scattered members who are practising mutual service may at first be compelled to maintain themselves mainly by working and buying under the capitalist system, they will take no payment for service from each other.

Since the postal system is still run on capitalist lines, members are asked to send thirty-six penny stamps a year to the organisation for postage; the stamps may be sent, if desired, in three instalments.

A bulletin will be issued periodically to inform members of the development of Communist practice, and members are asked to supply the Secretary with reports of their progress and all information regarding the practice of Communism which may come to their knowledge.

The bulletin and other matter dealing with the Communist life will be supplied to the newspapers of advanced thought in all countries.

All communications should be addressed to the Secretary.

#### SOME SUGGESTIONS.

In forming groups it will be advisable, as far as circumstances permit, to enlist the services of workers in various industries—shoemakers, tailors and dressmakers, carpenters, plumbers, gas workers and builders, cooks and bakers, laundresses, carriers, and others able to assist in transport, and agriculturalists.

Co-operation should be established between industrialists and rural agriculturalists.

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SOUTH AFRICAN TREASON COURT.—*From p. 1.*

of your opinion, and a very much larger number who have had to experience loss and injury. Some of them may have to drag out a maimed existence for the rest of their lives owing to the action taken by you.

"One mitigating circumstance which we concede in this case is that it is not proved that from the outset you were evilly inclined towards the Government; but it is proved in our mind beyond a shadow of doubt that you became so affected towards the Government when the hope of a successful issue, from the strikers' point of view, began to fade away. But in all the circumstances we feel that in due exercise of our duty towards the community we cannot inflict on you a less sentence than that we are about to impose. You will recognise that in all the circumstances it is a lenient one. The sentence, then, that which we now pass, is one of imprisonment, with hard labour, for a period of ten years."

Before the trial began, during its prosecution, and since its close, a satanic Press, in the pay of the employers of labour, has shrieked and howled like hyenas for the blood of our accused comrades.

# PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

## JOCK DAVIDSON.

By TOM ANDERSON.

He was an old man, and his hair was nearly snow-white. I met him in Douglas, at Onchan Head. He had a book under his arm, and as he passed me he stopped and asked for a match. The face seemed familiar to me, and as I handed him the match I said, "There you are, Jock." His eyes sparkled, and his white hair seemed to say, "Right!" With that I extended my hand and said, "How are you? How's the Revolution'?" We shaked, and his eyes were laughing as they did thirty years ago. "Yes," he said. "I am Jock, old Jock Davidson; but I canna' place you." I laughed, and said, "Do you no mind the day when we swam in the Laggie burn, and the keeper came and we bolted whae our claithes under our arm?" "My God, Tam, is that you?" We both laughed. "Aye, aye," he said, "it's mony a day since that. And you're visiting Douglas. I've just come mysel'. I put by a pound or two for this visit, that I might see the place again before I go on the long journey."

"What do you think of Douglas?"

"A grand place—a wonderful place; and the folk awe seem quite happy, but am doubting it's only on the surface."

"Better there than no place at all," I said.

"Quite true," Jock said, "quite true." Then he looked at me and said, "You'll no know I am a Socialist?"

"What's that?" I said.

"Have you never heard of Socialism? It's the new religion. It's the State taking the place, just as the father and mother do in the home. I am a member of the I.L.P., and I speak a good deal out in the open air. I'm a great believer in propaganda."

"Aye, aye," I said. "But what about Communism?"

Old Jock shook his head. "I have no great faith in them Communists; they only want to pinch your work; they are nearly all fly men," he added.

"Yes, yes," I said, "that may be true, but what about Communism?"

"You canna' get Communism till you get Socialism. We are no fit for Communism yet. We are not beasts, and the present Communists are the fly beasts."

"But that's no Communism," I said.

Old Jock looked at me and said, "Don't tell me you are a Communist."

"Aye, aye," I said, "I am a Communist, but not a political Communist, not a fly Communist—just a Communist."

He looked at me. "You don't tell me that. Communism is impossible to-day."

"Not at all," I said; "the great mass of the people are Communists at the bottom. The great human family, if they had a chance, would be real live Communists, but not 'fly' or political Communists—just Communists. Look at them; they are all playing, themselves like children, and all children are born Communists. No one pays any attention to you here, at anything you do. See these lovers walking past with their arms entwined around each other; see how they laugh; see their dresses. Are not the girls lovely?"

Old Jock shook his head and fumbled with his book.

"Don't get despondent, Jock. The human race is all right; the human race is Communist. You are surely not blind, Jock? We don't require Acts of Parliament to make people enjoy themselves, to marry them, or to make them love, or dance, or sing, or to work, even to work. The human race would work, and work well, and they would have a joy in their work. Have you ever read 'News from Nowhere,' by William Morris, Jock? Well, here you have a glimpse of it, even under a downtrodden State. They cannot put Communism under: it is born of the ages, thousands and thousands of years ago; our forbears were all Communists. Even our rough forefathers of our Highland glens, from which you and I come, were Communists, real true Communists, and held everything in common. Come on, Jock, and play ourselves at the shows."

I hauled him up the hill, and we played at every game at the shows, and Jock won several dolls and other toys, and he was laughing and bantering with the people all around him, and you could hear the women folk say, "What a fine old man!"

"Jock," I said, when we were finished and started to walk down the hill, "you are a Communist."

"Give your hand, Tam; I am, and never knew it. I see in this short lesson the meaning of Communism."

Then he got quite angry.

"To hell with the Parliament and their Constitution; to hell with their State and their members, their Acts and Regulations, and all their flimsy show. Man," he said (and he was quite serious), "the I.L.P. are a silky lot of bounders, a sort of gentle Jesus, meek and mild crowd, begging the Upper Court in the State to allow them to live, just to allow them a few crumbs."

"Mind yourself, Jock," I said.

"It's been simmering in me for a long time. Tam, and now the volcano's burst. To hell with all your respectability, with all your churches, your priests, and your parsons, your Ramsay Macdonalds and Philip Snowdens; to hell with the lot. It's a farce, a pure and unadulterated farce. Let the people live; they are Communists, as you have said, just Communists."

Jock and I parted, and as he shook my hand the tears fell from his eyes.

"Tam," he said, "I know who you are now—not the boy of my childhood, but an old Communist who loves all the world and would give unto everyone that which the world contains."

We two old men then went our different ways and we both hope that the soul of the people shall be allowed to live.

# IRISH NEWS.

## *Refugees and Compensation.*

The Irish Provisional Government has undertaken financial responsibility for making compensation in the case of those persons who have been obliged to leave the South of Ireland and seek temporary refuge in Great Britain.

Nothing has been heard from the Belfast Government on the demand that it should likewise act in a spirit of equity and undertake responsibility for paying compensation in the case of the Catholics driven from their work and homes by Orange mobs.

## *Belfast's Convict Ship.*

On the *Argenta*, the prison ship in Belfast Lough, over 800 uncharged and untried political prisoners are herded in steel cages.

They are obliged to eat their food—and that of a coarse kind—off the soiled floor of their cages, as no tables are provided; and the unsanitary conditions are such as to render it impossible to observe the decencies of life.

## *Terror in Derry Gaol.*

"So revolting are the conditions in Derry Gaol," said Mr. A. C. Dalgarno, just released, "that they baffle description." He was arrested at Belcoo, charged with refusing to give information to a "B" Special, put into a condemned cell in Derry Gaol, brought before a magistrate, denied legal advice, told he was free, and when waiting for the gate to be opened to let him out he was kicked, sent back to prison, and kept there until July 24th.

Mr. Dalgarno described the condition of the prison as "walking with vermin, lice, and dirt," and the sanitary arrangements as being practically non-existent."

## *Covered with Clotted Blood.*

"Eight men were seized, their clothes taken forcibly off and prison clothes put on, but Gallagher is stark naked. *The only covering or garment he has is clotted blood, the result of the treatment to which he was subjected.* Their treatment was most violent and brutal. They were kicked and battered, and carried unconscious into the cells, where they were battened down and tied to the hot-water pipe with a chain. They have been on hunger-strike since the 18th, and their condition by this must be most serious. I am afraid some of them will die if something is not done for their aid very soon."

"Dr. Maguire, of Swinlinbar, was *arrested while going on a sick call.* He also got bad treatment. Whether Moriarty or Gallagher are dead or alive at the moment I don't know. They got awful treatment. They were kicked and beaten. *In fact, nothing but the word "terror" can describe what has been going on in Derry Gaol.*"

## *Lying Propaganda.*

The Ulster Association, a propagandist off-shoot of Sir James Craig's Government, announces that, "as a result of the *peaceful conditions now prevailing throughout Northern Ireland*, the trade prospects of Ulster are brighter than they have been for a long time past. . . . *Now that peace has returned once more to her borders*, Ulster was setting to work with a will. Travelling facilities to Ulster are now normal."

## *Belfast Secret Society.*

The U.P.A. is a secret organisation, from which many Catholics have received death notices and eviction orders. In the fire case of Foundry Street, Belfast, it was proved that this organisation was responsible for the burning of Catholic homes. It flourishes under various classes in different parts of Belfast, but it is nto proclaimed as an illegal organisation. Now and again stupid members allow themselves to be caught, and have to be proceeded against, but it will be noticed that both bench and jury view their conduct more in sorrow than in anger.

## *Recent Outrages.*

### *Belfast Bombs.*

On Thursday night, July 27th, a missile was hurled into the yard of the house of a Catholic named McMenemy, 14 Vulcan Street. Fortunately none of the occupants were in the yard when the bomb exploded. Two bombs have been thrown in this Catholic area on two successive nights within a hundred yards' radius.

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The organ of the German Communist Workers' Party, "Kommunistische Arbeiter Zeitung," says:

That society is becoming more and more revolutionised, and that a course of action is being pursued with growing clarity and directedness, can be readily discerned from the struggle of our fellow-party in England in so far as it is reflected in their Press, in the *Workers' Dreadnought*, edited by Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst. The articles that have recently appeared—"The Bankruptcy of the United Front," "The Collapse of the Trade Unions," "The Genoa Betrayal," "Parliament as we see it," as also in the numerous translations of pamphlets and manifestoes of the Left-Wing movement—are the product of individual authors. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, they are the expression of the masses as these become deeply conscious of the treachery of the parasite type of Communists; they are the expression of the Left-Wing Communists of England to do something in the revolutionary proletarian class fight. In order to counteract the weakening of the Labour movement—undoubtedly a consequence of the systematic misleading on the part of Labour leaders—and to make a front against the world economic situation, each number contains a reference to the big things that are to be obtained, to the genuine Communist Workers' Party of the Fourth International. In spite of the difficulties of the situation, we will not go an arm's length from our course; we do not intend sacrificing the slightest morsel of our ideals: this is the concise and matter-of-fact propaganda the *Workers' Dreadnought* hammers into its friends and readers.

In order to show this typical method of English propaganda, we print the following translation:

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## COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

WORKS FOR COMMUNISM.—A classless order of society in which there shall be no rich and poor, no masters or servants, no landlords and capitalists, no buying and selling, no money, no wages. Each shall use according to need and desires of the earth's fruits and the product of the common labour. Each shall give to the service of the community according to capacity. Production and distribution shall be organised by those who do the work through the Soviets.

TACTICS.—No compromise with non-Communists and Reformers. No affiliation with the Labour Party. Continuous teaching of Communism. Continuous struggle for Communism.

Preparation for the Soviets: that is to say, organisation of the workers to take over and administer the industries of the creation of One Big Revolutionary Union with industrial departments built up from the workshop basis on the Sovet model. Continuous teaching of the futility of Parliamentary action, refusal to take part in it, preparation for the Soviets.

Write to the Preliminary Committee for the Communist Workers' Party (Fourth International), *Workers' Dreadnought* Office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

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# THE OUTLOOK.

## *Rand Treason Trials.*

British workers, workers in all countries, should follow the Rand treason trials with attention: they are of immediate international importance to the workers. The Rand strikers are being tried under old Dutch-Roman law, but old British Roman law exists also, and all the countries have old laws they can use to the same effect. Even were it not so, new law would be made to serve the ends of the ruling class. The judges of the Rand strikers have the same point of view as British judges. Read the questions put by the presiding judge in the Erasmus trial, and his summing up against the prisoner. Read and know that such is the attitude of ruling capitalism to revolting wage slaves in all lands.

## *British Labour Party's Treachery Towards S.A. Miners.*

The Willesden No. 1 Branch of the A.E.U. passed a resolution appealing for the lives of the South African miners who are being condemned to death. The resolution was then adopted by the local Labour Party and forwarded to the Secretary of the National Labour Party, with the plea that an effort should be made by the Party to save the men sentenced to death. Mr. Middleton, the secretary of the Labour Party, replied that as South Africa has Home Rule, and as there is Labour representation in the S.A. Parliament, the British Labour Party would take no action. How does this apply to the appeals being made on behalf of those Russian Social Revolutionaries who, according to Tchitcherin, are "the Eastern vanguard of aggressive French Imperialism"?

The local comrades observe that Mr. Arthur Henderson was on cordial terms with General Smuts, the South African Premier, when they were together in the War Cabinet.

## *Right-Wing Communists and the Labour Party.*

A leading article in *The Communist*, which we take to be an official expression of C.P.G.B. opinion, states that that Party has withdrawn its once-vaunted opposition to the most notorious renegades of the Labour Party, and has determined to give its support to all Labour Party candidates. The reason given by the leading article is:

> "*They would have called the Communist Party political blacklegs, and it would have died, stabbed by a phrase.*"

The statement is ridiculous and deplorable in its utter weakness.

The uninitiated must marvel that any national section of a party which once was so great, in spite of all faults and failings, as to ride the whirlwind of that monstrous, wondrous thing, the Russian Revolution; to ride it in its hey-day of vigorous achievement, should have fallen so. How is it possible, the uninitiated must wonder, that any of the Communist Party's national sections, even one so far removed from the storm centre as that of Britain, should thus express dependence on a mere say so of the retrograde Labour Party, with its anti-Communist officials and unawakened mass membership paying their millions of automatically exacted shillings?

The Russian Revolution in its heroic days was the transcendent example of proletarian initiative and action. How can those who claim to be the inheritors and standard-bearers of the great Revolution thus plead that they have turned their coat to save their Party from being "killed" by a mere "phrase"? Not by deference to the phrases of opponents were the Czar and the autocracy overthrown in Russia; not by deference to the phrases of opponents, but by strong, unflinching conflict with them, did the Communist Party gain the lead in Russia.

These little people of the little C.P.G.B. have not known the great conflicts, nor the long, toilsome years of the pioneers who create new thought and new action; they have followed in the footsteps of others: the bolder, the greater, with whom the phrases of opponents have weighed nothing at all.

Why are the feeble statements of these weaklings tolerated—nay, subsidised—by those who have passed through the whirlwind of revolution and long years of persecution over there in Russia?

Why?

Because the heroic days of the Revolution are over. Reaction holds unhappy Russia in its grip: the giant Freedom has bowed his head and gone sadly forth into opposition to build anew: to build and fight anew with the old battalions scattered, the hardest task still to win.

## *Left Group in Russia.*

Amongst the Left Communist groups the giant Freedom is toiling to emancipate the workers and build the Communist Life.

The Left Communist groups; the humble, unknown toilers; the extreme uncorruptible old warriors who scorn the flesh-pots which compromise with capitalism offers to those who forsake the cause of the masses; the ardent youth, those whose ideal is still undimmed, whose mental vision is too clear and piercing to be deceived by specious oratory or daunted by a wounding epithet: whether it be "political blackleg" or the still more deadly "counter-revolutionary": these form the Russian Revolutionary Group of Left Communists. They are facing, as the Russian pioneers have always faced, the harshest strife of the international struggle. To-day they no longer face the militarism of the Czar and the blighting poverty which the Russian workers suffered under the Czardom. They are facing the more efficient militarism of a Power which arose to be the instrument of the proletarian battle with world capitalism, and has transformed itself into the hand-maid of rapid capitalist development. They are facing the famine scarcity and the inflated currency of the post-war, post-revolutionary despotism. A censorship more rigorous, more efficient, a poverty more impecunious than any they knew under the Czardom, forbids their propaganda, prevents their meetings, destroys their power to print and publish on Russian soil.

An appeal to British Communists made through these columns for funds to assist the Russian workers in preparing propaganda material in Germany has fallen upon deaf ears. Shall that appeal be made wholly in vain? Comrades who will respond to it can do so through the Editor of this paper.

## *Russia and Ireland.*

The tortuous, crafty diplomacy of British capitalism: the diplomacy of which Lloyd George is the spokesman, has secured a victory and created a division in Russia by the same methods which have enabled it to secure a victory and create a division in Ireland.

British capitalist diplomacy said to the Irish: Surrender your Republic, surrender your independence, own allegiance to our King and Empire, subordinate yourselves to us, and we will give you peace and so much of the shadow of independence that you will not regret the loss of its substance. If you do not submit, we will fight you with a terrible violence hitherto unwitnessed by mankind: you will suffer a war of extermination.

Some of the Irish accepted the bait, for they wanted peace; but the British Government sent twenty-four battalions of British troops into Belfast, and armed 49,000 Special Constables and a war to drive out the Nationalists from Belfast was carried on. The independence of the Free State grew more and more shadowy, and its officials were forced to make war on its Republican comrades under the direction of the British General Macready.

Before Russia the Lloyd George diplomacy has dangled the prospect of peace, trade, and international loans. You will be able to develop your backward country and thus provide abundance for your people, if only you will submit to our conditions, the Lloyd George diplomacy has promised. This has been the policy of Lloyd George diplomacy for attacking Russia's Communism ever since the policy of armed intervention proved itself a costly failure.

The weaker brethren in power and place in Soviet Russia have succumbed to the promise of the Lloyd George diplomacy, and have persistently preached, praised, and practised the surrender of Communism and concessions to capitalism till the Russian proletariat has begun to revolt, the Russian Communist Party has been split into warring factions, and large sections of the world proletariat who once imagined themselves revolutionary Communists have entirely forgotten the implications and meanings of the term.

Capitalist diplomacy in Russia and in Ireland have scored the immediate victory; but though parties without much faith in them may die, "killed by a phrase," ideas go on; and though they suffer, and their ranks are decimated, some pioneers everywhere are found to hold unswerving to their trust and battle on.

The capitalist Press may jubilate, as it does, in the fact that the C.P.G.B. has cast its Communism aside, has refused to allow itself, as it says, with feeble, foolish treachery, to be driven into an attitude (O! splendid attitude!) of pure and simple Communism, and has cast in its lot with the Labour Party; but others are wiser and more steadfast. To others Communism is a vital principle, not a mere word to be mouthed in perorations.

Do the obscure persons who form the C.P.G.B. Executive know why their decision of unconditional support to the Labour Party which spurns them has received so much prominence in the capitalist Press?

The reason is that the capitalist Press regards this C.P.G.B. decision as the winding-up of an effort, which might have attained some success, to put "ginger" into the working class movement of this country.

The initiated Communists feel no dismay, however, at this revelation of C.P.G.B. policy. They are better informed than the capitalist Press.

## *Workers Who Assist Enemy Forces to be Treated as Combatants. Important Declaration to Irish Labour Party by Republicans.*

The field Headquarters of the Irish Republican Army on August 5th notified the Irish Trade Union Congress that "*workers actively co-operating with Free State forces, or assisting in operations under Free State forces, will in future be deemed to be participants in the war between the Republican and Free State forces.*"

The notification continued:

> "*This decision has been forced upon us by reason of the fact that the chief part of the railway work at present is army work; that the railway authorities gave allegiance to the so-called Provisional Government, and that organised Labour has up to the present co-operated in assisting the Free State and the British Government in their attempts to exterminate the Republican forces.*
>
> "*Will you therefore officially notify your trade union that any of its members who assist enemy forces in any such operations as repairing of railways, transporting or handling of munitions and transportation of troops, repairing telephone or telegraph wires, etc., or in any way obstructing our forces in the carrying out of their duties, will be considered combatants in the war, and will take the same risks as the armed forces who are fighting against the Republic.—Signed ————, Adjutant.*"

This document had apparently caused consternation amongst the trade union officials. The chairman of the Congress said that when

he received it the previous day he had regarded it as a forgery, and therefore did not bring it before the Congress, but now he knew it to be authentic.

The Irish trade union officials declare themselves to be altogether opposed to the present war in Ireland; they protest that they support neither Republicans nor Free Statists, and that the entire struggle is unnecessary.

In his address to the Congress the President said:

"Take no part in the civil war, fellow-workers; keep out of it. Starve to death rather than shed your blood in this civil war."

The demand that the workers should keep out of the war in actual fact, by refusing to assist the troops, presented a trial of their consistency which the Labour leaders were by no means prepared for.

These same Irish Labour leaders will go to international conferences and applaud resolutions for a general strike against war, and many of them were exceedingly contemptuous of the British Labour movement because it failed to accomplish that in 1914. These Irish Labour leaders organised a one-day strike against war, but a continuous refusal to assist troops and carry troops in the civil war would mean more than mere lip service to pacifism: it would mean for the union members the risk of being court-martialled or shot out of hand by the military, and the risk for the officials of being proceeded against by the Free State Government. Messrs. Tom L. Johnson, Cathal O'Shannon, and Bill O'Brien did not mean to go by any means so far as that in their pacifism.

In the presidential address, it had been hoped heroically that workers would be found to refuse to obey the orders of Republican Army officers to destroy bridges at the risk of being shot. But that was a case that would not often arise, and would only affect the individuals on the spot. The refusal to assist the armies, which was demanded, would mean immediate trouble with the Free State Government in power and the British Government behind.

Bermingham, representing the Irish section of the British N.U.R., pointed out that the railwaymen would be the first affected; they must have the protection and advice of the Congress.

Tom L. Johnson replied that the Executive had been considering the question very seriously: he wondered "whether mass meetings would receive any attention from the men with the guns."

No definite decision was arrived at. The Labour leaders are passively assisting the Free State Government, though that Government censors the Labour publications and arrests trade union officials, for little or no reason, in the course of its operations. Though the Labour leaders are passively assisting the Free State Government, they wish to preserve an appearance of neutrality, and masses of apathetic workers are anxious to keep out of danger, gaining a wage by doing war work without taking war risks.

The decision of the Republicans to treat those who assist the armies as actual combatants affirms a fact which should burn itself into the consciousness of every wage slave. To observe that fact in action means a solidarity as yet only occasionally reached in the world proletarian movement.

If the workers—railwaymen, transport workers, and seamen—of Britain and Europe had felt that solidarity there would have been neither invasion nor blockade of Soviet Russia. If the railwaymen and other workers of the Rand had felt that solidarity there would have been a different tale to tell of the late strike.

### *Putting the Screw on Germany.*

The British proposals for the solution of the German reparations question, as published in the *Star* last week, are a rigid form of putting the screw on Germany sort with the professedly gentle character of the Lloyd George who declared he would devote his remaining years to the provision of peace. Here are the most important of them.

Allied control of the German Reichsbank, which must cease its present connection with the German Government.

Allied control of the German Government's issue of paper money, increase of existing 26 per cent. levy on German exports. Allied control of German Customs receipts on imports, of German revenue and expenditure, and especially of revenue from mines and State forests in the Ruhr and occupied Rhineland. Allied "examination," which means dictation, of German legislation for preventing the flight of capital abroad. This is partly intended to prevent German capitalists obtaining valuable concessions desired by the Allies, partly to prevent German capital going to any country—for instance, Soviet Russia—where the Allies desire to prevent the flow of capital, partly to see that surplus German wealth is obtained by the Allies.

The German Budget to be balanced according to the dictates of the Allies, a moratorium being granted to Germany till the end of the year.

These proposals make Germany a mere vassal and milch cow of the Allies, but the French are not satisfied. They want, not to get effective possession of the German forests and mines, especially in the Ruhr. The British Government cannot condemn the French from a basis of ethical superiority. It did not arrange that the German colonies should be merely controlled by an Allied Commission in order that reparations payments might be secured from their revenues. It made the German colonies its own. The French Government, with no better or worse title, wishes to do the same.

The British Government objects to the French obtaining this accession of raw material and potential source of wealth and fighting power.

Obviously the rivalry between France and Britain grows. The balance-of-power policy to which Asquith and Grey, as well as Lloyd George and the Tories subscribe, now calls for the weighting of the British scale against France by the addition of some other countries' power and resources to Britain's own. As in the past, British Imperialism will use Central Europe against France if, and when, war with France arises. The future war with France will indeed be terrible. General Herr, the Inspector-General of French Artillery, has been reminding the *Morning Post* that the range of the German Big Berthas reached 130 kilometres in the late War, and observing that a 140 to 200 kilometre range is not too much to expect in the next war. French guns would thus be able to keep London, Portsmouth, Southampton, Dorchester, Dartmouth, and the Cornish Coast under fire. As there are 6,000,000 of us in London, the havoc would be almost too appalling to contemplate.

### *Russia's New Economic Policy.*

The Soviet Government's "new economic policy" of reversion to Communism has badly split the Russian Communist Party. This is how the capitalists make use of it. The Soviet Government is inviting foreign capital to build a railway from Indigo, or Cheskaia Bay, on the North Russian Coast, to Petropavlovsk, in the Province of Akmolinsk, nearly 1,500 miles £55,000,000 is required. This, according to the *Times* Riga correspondent, is how the foreign capitalists intend to work the scheme, insuring success by bribes to Soviet officials:

*"A few ships will arrive at Indigo Bay with materials and an expedition to exploit the immediate neighbourhood. They will at once make use of their privileges to the full. They will fell timber, shoot game, and fish, and the ships will return with valuable cargoes. Meanwhile the railway construction will proceed slowly. We shall lay down a furlong or so, and we calculate that by the time we have spent £5,000,000 we shall have received a return of something like £25,000,000. If the Soviet Government continues so long, we shall lay down a few furlongs more, with similar results. We shall risk nothing, but reap our profits as we go along. . . .*

*"We shall scrupulously avoid all forms of plunder in regard to what was formerly private property, and shall thus make firm friends of the former owners."*

Oh! for another workers' uprising to cleanse this augean stable that is being created in what was once Red Russia! SYLVIA PANKHURST.

## NOWHERE TO LIVE.

William Mills, of 35 Tulon Street, Camberwell, was evicted from a Camberwell L.C.C. dwelling, although he was not in arrears with his rent, on the ground that he had too many children. He was unable to find another dwelling for his family. His wife and the youngest child were eventually taken into a Salvation Army shelter, their two little boys were received into another Salvation Army institution in another part of London. Mills himself—who, by the way, has worked seven years at Woolwich Arsenal, but cannot get a house there—went to a men's common lodging-house to sleep. The eviction took place on August 5th. On the following Sunday the two little boys were let out of the Salvation Army institution to go to see their mother in Whitechapel. Not knowing that part of London, they got lost, and were "found wandering" by the police. They were placed under arrest and brought up at the Police Court next morning. The magistrate then sent them to a penal remand home for a week. The father, having no home for his children, fears that they will be sent by the magistrate to an Industrial School till they are sixteen, in which case he will lose all control over their education and treatment during that period.

Such tragic cases are now becoming common, because it does not pay the capitalist to erect working-class houses to-day.

The families who have been living in tarpaulin-covered huts in Chadwick Road, Camberwell have now been ordered out by the police. In the meantime, they are refused water and the right to dispose of the ashes from the buckets of coke on which they cook their food.

## THE BIRMINGHAM MARCHERS.

It was a very hungry-looking crowd that welcomed the Birmingham unemployed marchers. One saw that especially, as the people stood massed outside Poplar Town Hall, which was thronged and overflowing, the larger crowd outside.

One of the local unemployed addressed the throng from the porch, and the cheering that greeted the words of the marchers inside kept ringing out.

They stood there looking up at the speaker men and women with wasted faces and hungry eyes and mouths, and the greasy, dusty old clothes of poverty.

"Stand by your Guardians; you've got Guardians to be proud of here in Poplar," said the speaker; and the hungry and shabby crowd clapped his words: the hungry children, the hungry men and women, shrunken and wasted by poverty.

"At least I ask you to see that they don't want for a meal; that they don't go hungry while they're here in Poplar: these lads who've tramped it from Birmingham." The crowd cheered, then the collection went round. Those who had any money in their pockets gave it, but there was not much money in the pockets of that hungry crowd.

The men who tramped from Birmingham have interviewed Dr. Macnamara. They are likely to secure little more from that interview than the payment of their own doles whilst on tramp: perhaps they will not even get that.

The march, however, has been an experience to them: it has created a bond of solidarity between them and workers in many districts they have passed through; but the uppermost question in the minds of some of them is:

"Will my boots last out?"

## DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £255 18s. 5d. M. Powell, 10/- (5/- monthly). Hackney meetings collections, 5/6; A Friend, £8. Total for week, £8 15s. 6d. Total, £264 13s. 11d.

Some comrades make a regular monthly donation to the *Workers' Dreadnought* of 10/-, others of 5/- or some smaller sum, other comrades make a regular weekly donation. Some buy a number of papers each week to give away to the unconverted. Some display our posters and induce others to do so. Some sell papers. What will you do to assist the spread of Communist ideals?

## THE MINERS.

The strike of American railway shopmen has gone on so long that the U.S. trains are becoming disabled and unsafe. The Brotherhoods of railway traffic workers are amnogst the most reactionary Trade Unions in the U.S., which is saying a great deal. These Brotherhoods refused to take sympathetic action to assist their working brothers in the railway repair and construction shops. The dangers of working the disabled trains threaten, however, to enforce a sympathetic strike. Moreover, the presence of employers' gunmen has caused the railway Brotherhoods to instruct their members to cease work if their lives are endangered by such agents, and on various lines the members of the four big railway Brotherhoods have actually ceased work.

If this is to be a first step in the refusal to carry troops for use against strikers it will have far-reaching effects. Had the South African railway workers taken this stand, the story of the Rand dispute would have been different.

Another factor tending to make the railway strike general is the simultaneous strike of miners, which produces a shortage of fuel for the trains. The railway shopmen's strike, of course, also helps incidentally to increase the serious effect of the miners' strike.

President Harding and the U.S. Labour Board are anxiously negotiating, but the strikes continue, and the President announces that he will deal with the trouble by means of special legislation. He intends to create a great coal trust of private capitalists enterprise, with authority to act, if necessary, to prevent profiteering by others. He also announces that he will create a Government Coal Commission to make "recommendations" on wages, conditions, and prices. He also intends compulsory arbitration, and legislation for "the protection of aliens." Presumably this means protection when they are used as blacklegs.

Whilst the U.S. miners and railwaymen are thus developing a strangle-hold upon capitalist enterprise, British miners are working overtime to rush coal into America to relieve the impasse and assist the U.S. employers in their attack upon the workers' standard of living. The Miners' Federation of Great Britain, through the active agency of Mr. Frank Hodges, is striving to accelerate production for the U.S.A., and is bringing perssure to bear on the dockers and transport workers to work three shifts on shipments of coal for U.S.A.

A protest, on the ground that the dockers' wages would be reduced, and in the name of International working-class solidarity from the Dockers' Union, was met with the reply that Mr. Hodges was at the International Miners Congress in Frankfort, and that the communication had been forwarded to him in order that he might deal with it. It should be observed that the miners pride themselves that their Federation is a thoroughly democratic one. On this score they are apt to crow. Evidently, however, Mr. Frank Hodges has his executive so well under control that they do not venture to deal, in his absence, with any important matter, however urgent, but prefer to refer it for his decision when abroad.

The reply of Mr. Hodges to the dockers' protest may easily be inferred from the fact that the International Miners' Congress refused any sympathetic action to the United States miners It refused to place any embargo on the sending of coal to U.S.A. It merely *recommended* the various national organisations to subscribe between them £10,000, which would not provide more than one-tenth of a dollar per striker On the suggestion of Hodges, the Press and visitors were exeluded during the session.

Mr. Hodges, by the way. was re-elected secretary of the International Miners' Organisation.

The Reds amongst the miners used to talk cheerfully of their powers and influence in their Federation and of its progressive character. They will have to revise their estimates if they are willing to face the facts.

The experience of every day is showing more and more clearly the need for a One Big Revolutionary Union.

The President's proposal that the U.S. Government shall operate the railways failing an agreement between employers and employed, will only materialise if members of the working class act as Government tools in this expedient.

### *Tom Shaw as a Socialist.*

So Tom Shaw has become Secretary of the Second International. We remember well his wide-mouthed Jingoism at the war-time Labour Conferences, in which he was the eager rival of Tillet, Clynes, and Havelock Wilson; and his championship of the interests of the cotton capitalists. Truly the Second International is the loyal ally of the Allied Capitalist Governments, and Tom Shaw can be counted on to make it denounce the French and approve the Germans if the British Government says he should.

"True patriotism," said Bismarck, "is taking something from somebody else and keeping it for yourself." That is the sort of statesmanship Tom Shaw fully understands, provided the statesman is of his own nationality.

### *Counter-Revolution in Central Europe.*

The German Crown Prince proposes returning to live in Germany. The German Government has no objection to raise, in spite of the active Monarchist movement there. On the other hand, the Government of the German Republic is very chary of permitting the entry of Communists within its borders; indeed, "it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle" than for a known Communist to obtain a German visa.

That the old influences largely rule still in Germany is evidenced by the high treason charge against Herr Fechenbach, former private secretary to Kurt Eisner, for having revealed a letter showing that the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, which helped to precipitate the European War in 1914, was known to the German Government before it was dispatched.

Important Austrian capitalist intrigues are reported by the *Times* correspondent in Graz, the second largest town in Austria and capital of Styria, which contains 50 per cent. of Austria's industries, including the largest iron mine in the world, which has been acquired by the German Stinnes Trust. Wealthy Styrians, says the *Times* correspondent, have opened negotiations for the absorption of Styria by Italy, should a crisis arise in Austria. Evidently the success of the Fascisti has disposed Austrian capitalism to seek Italian co-operation.

Nevertheless, a prominent Styrian industrial magnate assured the *Times* correspondent:

*"If backed by the Allies, Styria would guarantee to save Austria. What he was thinking of was a coup d'etat from the Right, with the help of the Heimwehr, an organisation similar to the Ardesch.*

*"Austria's army is Socialist, and in case of a debacle would side with the most radical element. But my informant hinted that a strong Government, by which he meant one which would take the standpoint of the employers, could dispose of sufficient armed forces to keep order. He declared that civil war could be avoided if sufficient food supplies to feed the country for a month could be placed at this Government's disposal just outside the border, so that from the moment it seizes control it could undertake to feed the masses. To solve the money difficulty, he proposed a new State issuing bank based on foreign capital, supported by a foreign Government, preferably the British Government, and enjoying ex-territorial privileges. . . .*

*"Two days ago a meeting of industrialists representing all the Austrian provinces, exclusive of Vienna, was held at Graz, at which it was decided to present an ultimatum to labour on the 17th instant; the terms to be either a reversion of the eight-hour day to pre-war conditions of work, or a complete lock-out. The truth is that Austria has had enough. By one means or another, her leading men are conspiring to bring things to an end."*

Later news from the *Times* correspondent states that Dr. Seipel, the Austrian Chancellor, is visiting Czecho-Slovakia with an appeal from that Government to become responsible for the Government of Austria. The Government of Austria, once the dominant power, is now said to be offering the once-subject Czecho-Slovakia "practical administrative control" of Austria in order to find a way of escape from the economic difficulties which threaten revolution. Dr. Seipel is also said to be vsiting Germany and Italy to placate any opposition to the expedient there by saying: "Save me quick or I shall die on your doorstep, and then you will have to bury me."

### *Hungary Rising from the White Terror.*

The great power of Labour is seen in the fact that in Hungary, long held in the grip of military white terror, a wave of great strikes has arisen: 30,000 metal workers, beside wood, textile, and other workers and miners, and 80,000 labourers, are on strike. In spite of the white terror, the workers are expected to secure concessions.

## ESPERANTO.

### SLOSILO DE L'EKZERCO No. 10.

Do you prefer to meet on Sunday or Monday, or on another of the seven days of the week?—On Tuesday and Wednesday I am always at home, but the remaining evenings are all the same to me. I know a few comrades who prefer Thursday. On Friday we are al busy, so the majority would come on Saturday. —Thank you; please come early!

### EKZERCO No. 1.

Kion ni faros dum niaj kunvenoj?—Kompreneble ni lernos paroli, legi kaj skribi la internacian lingvon.—Ĉu ni havas talentulojn, kiuj povos kanti kaj deklami?—Mi estas certa ke jes; *ni* havas ankaŭ muzikistojn.—Mi estas feliĉa pro tio, ĉar mi volas aranĝi koncertojn kaj teatraĵojn en Esperanto.

### VORTARETO.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ankaŭ | also | fari | to do |
| certa | certain | feliĉa | happy |
| deklami | to recite | kanti | to sing |
| dum | during | kio | what |
| | kompreneble | of course | |
| | lerni | to learn | |
| | paroli | to speak | |
| | skribi | to write | |
| | voli | to wish | |

### NOTES.

UL means "one characterised by." *Talentulo*—a talented person.

IST denotes a "person occupied with," usually professionally. *Muzikisto*—a musician. *Teatraĵo*—a play, from *teatro*, a theatre.

*Daŭrigo.*

## MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

### I.

### LA KAPITALISTOJ KAJ LA PROLETARIOJ.*

La historio de la tuta ĝisnun ekzistanta socio† estas la historio de interklasaj bataloj.

Liberulo kaj sklavo, patricio kaj plebejo, bienulo kaj servutulo, gildmajstro ‡ kaj metiisto, unuvorte, subpremanto kaj subpremato, staris konstante unu kontraŭ la alia, daŭrigis senintermankan, jen kaŝatan, jen malkaŝatan bataladon, kiu ĉiufoge finiĝis, aŭ en revolucia rekonstruado de la socio ĝenerale, aŭ en la komuna ruiniĝo de la batalantaj klasoj.

* Per "kapitalistaro" estas signata la klaso de modernaj kapitalistoj, posedantoj de la rimedoj de socia produktado kaj dungantoj de salajra laboro; per "proletariaro," la klaso de modernaj salajr-laboristoj, kiuj, havante nenian propran rimedon de produktado, estas submetataj al la vendo de sia propra labor-povo por ke ili vivu.

*Daŭrigoto.*

## ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNIST MEETING:

WOODGRANGE ROAD, FOREST GATE,

Saturday, August 26th, 7 p.m.

Speakers: A. Kingman, W. Pratt, N. Smyth

## LORD NORTHCLIFFE AND ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

Lord Northcliffe, to whom have been accorded the honours of official burial and mourning, was probably the best of good fellows at home: any man may be if his purse is well lined, but his personal good qualities do not affect the outside world. Both these men were firm upholders of capitalism; they believed in it, and were opposed to the coming of that classless order of society we call Communism, which alone can emancipate the wage worker.

Northcliffe was undoubtedly an efficient organiser, with an adventurous mind, ever ready to welcome new mechanical inventions; in fact, he had a special bent in that direction—motor-cars, aeroplanes, wireless telegraphy received an eager welcome from him. He had however, no liking for innovations in social mechanism. It is true that he was considered a model employer: he knew that, just as you must give a horse adequate food and a good stable, you get more efficient service if you do the same for a man, and no doubt natural good nature overcame at times his belief in the rights of capital. Northcliffe's views on society were, however, far removed from that of such a man as Sanderson, the great schoolmaster of Oundle, who said:

"*Mechanical changes shown in innumerable inventions, such as dynamos, aeroplanes, wireless telegraphy, gramophones and cinemas, have rushed on beyond the organisation required for them and the changes in human beings produced by them. There has also been a race between the inventions and organisations— the result has been the War. . . .*

"*The stirring of the faculties made the workers aware of their potentialities and aroused their creative instincts. Such revelation of their capacities is proceeding at a marvellous speed. The problem before the world is the organisation of live and free agents. The most primitive and the most powerful of men's instincts is the instinct of self-development and growth —and this is the main factor in organisation. It is one thing to have laws for hard corpuscles, but another to deal with electrons or bacteria. . . .*

"*The struggle between self-expanding individuals, or nations, and the stereotyped conditions that restrict them, is, as our chairman has said, a race between education and catastrophe. . . .*

"*The chief duty of scientific men in the new era is to bring all their methods and standards of value into the whole field of human activity; and to these methods and ideals they must remain staunch and faithful. With such a spread of scientific effort, a great change will come over the social system. Far greater than the rapid change spread over biology, and thence over other branches of knowledge, by Darwin's theory or Mendel's or Pasteur's, it will be a re-writing of all the standards of value. So there will come a new order of economics, finance, ethics, diplomacy, administration under the influence of the spirit of science. . . .*

"*What is needed, and naturally enough needed, is that our executive and administration should be transfigured by the influence of the new spirit which science has, not indeed created, but crystallised.*

"*We can see the same facts illustrated in industrial management. The industrial social life is not seriously changed by any change in the managing body, or in its methods of reaching its present aims. Such changes as co-partnership, profit-sharing, Whitley Councils, or nationalisation, do not themselves change the social conditions. What is needed is a radical change in the aim or purpose of industry, and in its relative standards of values. So long as things are to be sold by auction to the highest bidder it matters little who is the auctioneer or what the method of auction. . . .*

"'*The secret of a joyful life is to live dangerously.*'

"*The history of mankind in the making would lead us to expect the coming into active prominence and effectiveness of new standards of value, and would lead us to rejoice in a great epoch of changes which will re-cast our institutions and organisations. . . .*

. . . . "*The work before us in the coming era is to drift the thoughts towards the love of mankind—to build up true love on a foundation of rock—to stiffen and strengthen love that it will not soften down to static conditions. . . .*

. . . "*Competition is no doubt a primitive instinct, especially in the social life of the herd, but the development of the individual and of the herd has been the increase of the creative instinct over the acquisitive or the competitive. 'He must increase; I must decrease.' In the rush of industry under the old ideals the spirit of competition has so swollen as to reveal itself and exhaust itself.*"

Arthur Griffith was an Irish Nationalist, a Tariff Reformer: his aim was to build up Irish industries on capitalist lines. He, too, was opposed to the classless order, the free Communist society. He worshipped the capitalist State, and was bitterly opposed to any attempts of the workers to better their conditions. He even opposed the workers in the great Dublin Lock-Out, which was a lock-out against trade unionism in principle, and in which the Irish Transport Workers' Union was for the time being absolutely crushed.

In its short term of office Arthur Griffith's Government had already succeeded, by its high-handed autocracy, in estranging even the official Irish Labour leaders, who were only too ready to accept the Free State

## THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

*(Continued from last week.)*

Before going further, let me illustrate the march of industries towards the East by a few figures. And, to begin with, let me take the example of Russia. Not because I know it better, or that our industrial statistics, although slow to appear, are fuller than those of Austria or of Italy, but because Russia is the latest comer on the industrial field. Thity years ago she was considered as the ideal of an agricultural nation, doomed by nature itself to supply other nations with food, and to draw her manufactured goods from the West. Elisée Reclus has given, in his *Géographie Universale*, a curve intended to show the growth of Russian industries since 1859, and this modest curve is worth whole pages, as it tells at once to the eye the sudden increase of Russian manufactures a few years after the emancipation of serfs. In 1861—the year of the emancipation—Russia, together with Poland, had only 14,060 manufactures, which produced every year the value of 296 millions of roubles (about £36,000,000). Twenty years later the number of establishments rose to 35,160, and their yearly production became nearly four 1,305 millions (about £131,000,000); and in times the above—i.e., 1,305 millions (about £131,000,000); and in 1884, although the census left the smaller manufactures out of account, the aggregate production reached already 1,556 millions—i.e., £155,000,000. The most noteworthy feature of Russian industry is, that while the number of workmen employed in the manufactures has not even doubled since 1861 (it has remained stationery since 1879), the production per workman had more than doubled: it has trebled in the leading industries. The average was less than £70 per annum in 1861; it reaches now £163. The increase of production is thus chiefly due to the improvement of machinery, especially since 1870. If we take, however, separate branches. and especially the textile industries and the machinery works, the progress appears still more striking.*

Moreover, the above figures, including only those manufactures which show a yearly return of above £200, do not include the immense variety of domestic trades, which also have considerably grown of late, side by side with the manufactures. The domestic industries—so characteristic of Russia, and so necessary under her climate—occupy now more than seven millions of peasants, and their aggregate production was estimated a few years ago at much more than the aggregate production of the manufactures. It exceeded £180,000,000 per annum. I shall have an occasion to return later on to this subject, so that I shall be sober of figures, and merely say that even in the chief manufacturing provinces of Russia round about Moscow domestic weaving—for the trade—shows a yearly return of £4,500,000; and that even in Northern Caucasia, where the petty trades are of a recent origin, there are, in the peasants' houses, 45,000 looms, with a yearly production of £200,000.

As to the mining industries, which are not included in the above, notwithstanding the competition of fuel-wood and naphtha,† the output of the coal-mines of the Don has doubled during the last ten years, and in Poland it has increased four-fold; so that in 1884, before the last increase of duties, only one-third of the 113 millions of cwts. consumed in Russia was imported. Nearly all the steel, three-quarters of the iron. and two-thirds of the pig-iron used in Russia are home produce. and the eight Russian works for the manufacture of steel rails are strong enough to throw on the market six million cwts. of rails every year.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the imports cant, and that since 1870—that is, nine years before the general increase of duties—the proportion of manufactured goods to the aggregate imports has been on a steady decrease.‡ Manu- of manufactured goods into Russia are so insignificant, and that since 1870—that is, nine years factured goods make no wonly one-fifth of the imports; and while the imports of Britain into Russia were valued at £16,300,000 in 1872, they were only £12,300,000 in 1884; out of them, manufactured goods were valued at a little more than £2,000,000—the remainder being either articles of food or raw and half-manufactured goods (metals, yarn, and so on). In fact, the imports of British home produce have declined in the course of ten years from £8,800,000 to £5,000,000, so as to reduce the value of British manufactured goods imported into Russia to the following trifling items: machinery, £1,042,550; cottons, only £625,600; woollens, £260,800; and so on. But the depreciation of British ware imported into Russia is still more striking, thus, in 1876, Russia imported 8,000,000 cwt. of British metals, and paid then £6,000,000; but in 1884, although the same quantity was imported, it was paid only £8,400,000. And the same depreciation is seen for all imported goods, although not always in the same proportion.

* If we consider only the years which preceded 1879—when the import duties were increased by nearly 30 per cent., and a protective policy was definitely adopted—we still find the following progress in the cotton industries. The number of workmen employed increased only by 25 per cent.; but the production increases by 300 per cent.; the yearly production per workman employed grows from £45 to £117. The unanimous opinion of the experts at the exhibition of 1882 was, that a considerable improvement had been realised of late in the Russian cotton manufactures; and everybody can confirm the accuracy of the statement by the cheapness and the good taste of the cottons now manufactured in Russia. The same is true, although to a smaller extent, with regard to the woollens industries, and fully with regard to the silks (compare Stieda's monographs in the *Russische Revue*). As to the machinery works, it would not be fair to make any comparison between 1884 and 1861, or even 1870; the whole has grown up during the last ten years; and Professor Kirpitcheff points out that the progress realised can be best judged by the high perfection attained in the building of the most perfect types of big steam engines, locomotives, and in the manufacture of water-pipes, notwithstanding the competition of Glasgow. Russia needs no longer to import any part of her railway plant, thanks to the progress made under the leadership of English, and partly, German engineers. As to the home-made agricultural machinery, both the *Times* correspondent and Russian reports agree in recognising that it successfully competes even with American machinery, although the latter is much cheaper and more appropriate to the Russian prairies than the English.

† Out of the 1,246 steamers which ply on Russian rivers, one-quarter are heated with naphtha, and one-half with wood; wood is also the chief fuel of the railways and ironworks.

* The characters of the imports into Russia are best seen from the following: 1856-1870, manufactured goods, 31 per cent.; raw and half-manufactured goods, 46 per cent.; articles of food, 23 per cent.: 1884, manufactured goods, 19 per cent.; raw and half-manufactured goods, 58 per cent.; articles of food, 23 per cent.

## CLYNES, TILLETT, AND THE GENERAL STRIKE.

A certain well-known speaker, whom you have doubtless heard and applauded many a time, fellow-worker, recently settled in Ireland after a long life of propaganda in Britain. That speaker is reported as saying that one has to be very careful what one says to Irish audiences just now, because, whilst an English or Scotch audience is quite certain just to sit and applaud any vigorous suggestion, an Irish audience is likely to spring up and say: "Let us do it now."

That is a nasty one for us, is it not, fellow-worker?

That particular speaker has begun to learn by experience the wholesome fact that when a people is roused, even a windbag's empty threats and incitements, which he has no intention or desire to see carried out in action, may actually set alight the dry tinder of revolt and give the impetus to far-reaching events.

We should like to think that this might be the case with the utterance at the Conference of the National Federation of General Workers of that arrant windbag Ben Tillett, who rivalled Bottomley by his jingo speeches on the music-hall stage during the War. The bold Ben Tillett who would certainly back out if anyone attempted to follow his advice, fellow-worker, spoke thus:

> *"If I had my way, I should get all the workers of the world to down tools for a given period until the financiers of the world have arranged their own differences."*

A suggestion for an international general demonstration strike against the general attack on wages was made by the French delegates to the Miners' International, but was defeated by the hostility of Frank Hodges and the other British delegates.

J. R. Clynes, who approved Tillett's blood-and-thunder war speeches and made some "Bitter Enders" himself rose to rebuke Tillett for his militant tone at the General Workers' Conference. Said Clynes, M.P., P.C., the president of the Congress:

> *"I do not believe in such industrial violence. . . . Unemployment and its solution should not be approached from any standpoint of party or class issue."*
>
> *"There can be no stability," he said, "when Germany's finances are wobbling."*

The fact is that Clynes and his colleagues do not wish the workers to do anything which might injure the trade interests of their employers; they place their faith in the solutions offered by Mr. Keynes and the Liberal popliticians, the wiping out of a large part of Germany's reparation payments, the wiping out of inter-allied debts, and so on: all arrangements made by the capitalists between themselves, whilst the wage slaves, who produced the wealth the capitalists are manipulating, look on in humble patience, waiting for their pastors and masters to solve the unemployment question. Clynes is a follower of the political policy of the Liberal employing class, with occasional leanings towards Toryism when clothed in the eloquence of Lloyd George.

Tillett, on the other hand, is an actor and a windbag who plays to the gallery; he is affected by the psychology of his audience. Therefore his speech is coloured by working-class aspirations, though his actions differ little from those of Clynes.

Do not look to Tillett to organise the general strike for you, fellow-worker; he has neither the heart for it, nor the organisation for it. You will never see an effective general strike in this country, fellow-worker, till the *One Big Revolutionary Union* has been created.

*All members of the O.B.R.U. must pledge themselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of a World Federation of Communist Industrial Republics, in which production, transport, and distribution shall be administered by the Soviets.*

*No member of the O.B.R.U. may assist in the transport or equipment of troops or blacklegs employed against the workers, or in the manufacture or transport of material for use against the workers in their struggle.*

*No member of the O.B.R.U. may take office in a Trade or Industrial Union other than the One Big Revolutionary Union.*

*No member of the O.B.R.U. may take office in any workshop committee promoted by the Trade Unions or the employers.*

*No member of the O.B.R.U. may take part in any council of employers and employed, profit-sharing scheme, or take office on any Conciliation Board.*

*No member of the O.B.R.U. may belong to any political Party unless its object is the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Communism, or any Party which is affiliated to the Labour Party or any other Reformist organisation.*

*No member of the O.B.R.U. may assist in the administration of the capitalist State, either by becoming a candidate for Parliament or th local governing bodies, or assisting in the election of candidates thereto.*

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

## REX *v.* ALDRED.

An appeal reaches us from 13 Burnbank Gardens, Glasgow, stating that the costs of this action—£204 9s. 4d.—have not yet been met.

## RUSSIAN LEFT-WING COMMUNIST GROUPS.

The appeal of these hard-pressed comrades to meet the cost of printing propaganda literature in Germany is still before you. Every English pound will go far in this direction. Have you sent a donation?

## THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION.

### *By Alexandra Kollontay.*

This important series of articles by a well-known Russian Communist is being issued by the *Workers' Dreadnought* publishers in pamphlet form, and will be ready shortly.

## SEND FOR OUR CATALOGUE.

The *Workers' Dreadnought* Book Service Catalogue is now ready, and will be supplied on application to 152 Fleet Street.

## THE APOSTLE.

By GUY A. ALDRED.

(One of many MSS. written in Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow.)

### CHAPTER II.

### *Demos at Thought.*

At these each party puts up its champion or champions to be questioned or opposed by the audience, or some members of it. If the speaker is interesting he will hold his audience, regardless of his party project. If he is dull, though his message be the last word in salvation, his stand will be isolated and his words of healing lost on the air. For democracy is abroad seeking light from the genius of prophets, not headaches from the dullness of schoolmasters nor sleeping sickness from the opiates of priests. Democracy, with its multiple problems, seeking solution in all its individual phases of the grand enigma of being; pondering on metaphysics and destiny, enquiring into philosophy and seeking spiritual truth and comfort; appalled by the social problem and wondering which path to tread.

Demos in the forum is a wonderful study. It strides with giant steps over the grave of its fears and illusions. Alive and vital, swearing by no creed, bound by no catchism, under no oath of allegiance, but seeking, scorning, rejecting, enquiring, fashioning: such is the mighty plebian figure that gathers thought in the forum with which to invade the workshops and the homes.

In the forum the student of the smally circulated Socialist journal or Free Thought organ widens heritical influence. Here is undermined the power exercised by the extensively distributed daily and weekly organs of the capitalist Press. Here the democracy checks its own thoughts, corrects its own policies, plays with its own suggestions, brings its most cherished dreams to naught, rejects the oft-formulated plans of its own sincerities; and finally, gradually, powerfully, discovers its purpose, its programme, and importance.

People who speak and write of the importance of Parliament and representative institutions do not realise the promise and the prophecy of the forum. Parliament is neither the first nor yet the last word in the political life of the common people. That honour belongs to the forum. It is the forum, and not the Parliament, that is the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end of political wisdom. From the forum are proclaimed the freedom of the people and doom of kings. It is the forum, and not the Parliament, that reveals the coward lurking at the base of the throne.

The forum expresses, directs, and develops the genius of the people. It voices ever the aspirations of democracy. Here kings are dethroned and Governments abolished. Here parties are swept aside as forgotten lumber. Acts of Parliament have no weight until the forum registers their importance. Bills of Right are kicked aside by kings and courtiers until the voice of the forum menaces their prerogative and authority.

First-rate exploiters scheme the greater enslavement of the producing toilers. Statesmen and diplomats nourish lovingly plans and ambitions for world dominion by the privileged few. Skilfully they extend their ramifications and found the caucases upon which they rely for success and security. Words spoken in Parliament fail to modify their purpose or to check their lust for power. Then it is that, to their amazement, in the very height of their glory, their careers of flaunting splendour are dissolved by the unregistered decrees of the forum. For the great but rule. They never realise when the sands of power are running low and the moment of transition is at hand.

What a powerful thing it is to be able to muse and lounge through the forum and to note Demos planning an iconoclasm greater than the war of kings! If we only knew, how glorious to note at first hand the changes in the thoughts and feelings of the third-rate common herd; to note and to watch the weaving of the web of destiny in which monarchs are entrapped like flies, ere they are consumed by the ravenous spider of fate.

*(To be continued.)*


# SOVIET RUSSIA

## AS I SAW IT

(WRITTEN BEFORE THE POLICY OF REVERSION TO CAPITALISM WAS INSTITUTED).

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

*SOME PRESS NOTICES.*

"There is a vast mass of information in this book . . . and those interested in Soviet Russia will find much that is interesting amongst the mosaic of impressions it contains. . . ."

—*Daily Herald.*


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